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TQRI 2A1058Z OCT 82

SECTION 01-20F 02

DIST: 28 OCTOBER 1982

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
DOMESTIC COLLECTION DIVISION

THIS IS AN INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE  
REPORT CLASS

COUNTRY: JSSR

SUBJECT: CLASSIFICATIONS OF TYPES OF LABOR AND USE OF "FORCED  
LABOR" IN THE SOVIET UNION

DOI: 1960 - 1992

REF:

1 3 0

Approved for Release  
Date

11 MAR 1987

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SOURCE: [REDACTED]

SUMMARY: WHILE THE USSR HISTORICALLY DEPENDS ON CONSCRIPTED LABOR FOR MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT FORCED LABOR IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SIBERIAN NATURAL GAS PIPELINE. INCREASED PROSECUTION OF PETTY CRIMINALS FOLLOWED BY PAROLE TO LABOR GROUPS AND DECLINING PRODUCTIVITY OF THE LABOR FORCE ARGUES THAT COMPELLED LABOR REMAINS A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY. THE NUMBER OF WORKERS IN THE DISSIDENT RANKS IS INCREASING.

TEXT: 1. IN 1979 DOCTOR YURIY ((ORLOV)), A FOUNDER OF THE HELSINKI/HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING COMMITTEE IN THE USSR, ESTIMATED THAT THERE WERE ABOUT FIVE MILLION SOVIET CITIZENS WHO WERE SUBJECT TO SOME FORM OF FORCED LABOR THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET UNION. THESE LABORERS WERE CLASSIFIED IN THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES:

- A. INMATES OF PRISONS
- B. INMATES OF PRISON CAMPS GUARDED FACILITIES ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR INDUSTRIAL FACILITY.
- C. RESIDENTS OF INTERNAL EXILE COMMUNITIES: LOOSE SUPERVISION UNDER STRINGENT TRAVEL CONTROLS. COMPELLED TO WORK IN THEIR FIELD OF EXPERTISE AT REDUCED COMPENSATION AND PRIVILEGES.
- D. KHINKI (I): PAROLEES FROM PRISONS PAROLED ON CONDITION OF LABOR ON A PROJECT.
- E. KHINKI (II): INDIVIDUALS CONVICTED OF MINOR INFRACTIONS OF CRIMINAL LAW WHO WERE CONSIGNED DIRECTLY TO RELATIVELY UNSUPERVISED LABOR GROUPS.
- F. PSYCHIATRIC AND MEDICAL REHABILITATION: INDIVIDUALS CLASSIFIED AS ALCOHOLICS AND/OR MENTAL CASES FOR WHOM HARD LABOR HAS BEEN PRESCRIBED AS THERAPY AND REHABILITATIVE TREATMENT.

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5. JUVENILE CRIMINAL OFFENDERS: 12-18 YEAR-OLD ADOLESCENTS CONVICTED OF ADULT OFFENSES AND CONFINED IN LABOR CAMPS SIMILAR TO CATEGORY 8.

2. THE TERM "KHIMIKH" DERIVES FROM THE EARLY DRIVE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE USSR IN THE LATE 1950'S WHEN THE PRACTICE EVOLVED OF SUPPLYING MINOR CRIMINALS TO PROVIDE COMMON, UNSKILLED LABOR FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHEMICAL AND FERTILIZER PLANTS. THE PRACTICE CONTINUES AS THERE IS INSUFFICIENT COMMON LABOR READILY AVAILABLE FOR ALL OF THE MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS IN PROGRESS AT ANY TIME IN THE USSR. THESE ORGANIZED GROUPS ARE NOT ORDINARILY USED IN AGRICULTURE EXCEPT UNDER EMERGENCY HARVEST CONDITIONS OR A SIMILAR EXIGENCY. AGRICULTURAL LABOR IS PROVIDED BY OTHER LEVIES SUCH AS STUDENTS, MILITARY UNITS OR A FACTORY SHIFT.

3. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT NONE OF THESE PRISONERS ARE CLASSIFIED AS "POLITICAL" PRISONERS. AS OF EARLY AUTUMN 1982 THERE WERE ONLY 843 CONFIRMED POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY MANY MORE INDIVIDUALS CONFINED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, BUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH CAN IDENTIFY ONLY 843 PERSONS IN PRISON IN SEPTEMBER, 1982, FOR PURELY POLITICAL OFFENSES. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ANY OF THESE 843 PRISONERS WOULD BE USED FOR LABOR ON ANY HIGH VISIBILITY PROJECT OR ON ANY PROJECT SUBJECT TO SABOTAGE OR DISRUPTION.

4. IN ADDITION TO THE FORCED LABOR CLASSIFICATIONS LISTED ABOVE, THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT COMPELS LOW-COST LABOR FOR SPECIFIC PROJECTS. SOME OF THESE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

A. CONSTRUCTION BATTALIONS: DRAFT OF SERVICE-ELIGIBLE YOUTH TO SERVE IN ORGANIZED PARA-MILITARY LABOR GROUPS TO PROVIDE UNSKILLED TO MODERATELY SKILLED LABOR. THESE BATTALIONS ARE NORMALLY FILLED BY ETHNIC MINORITIES OR YOUTH OF LESSER INTELLIGENCE WHO ARE FOUND UNSUITABLE FOR MILITARY SERVICE. THE LOW-RANKING ENLISTED MEMBERS SERVE FOR THE NORMAL TWO-YEAR CONSCRIPTION PERIOD WHILE THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS (NCO) SERVE FOR A LONGER PERIOD. OFFICERS ARE OF SOMEWHAT HIGHER CALIBRE, POSSIBLY SKILLED MANUAL LABORERS OR, IN THE CASE OF SOME OFFICERS, BORDER ON THE SKILLS OF CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERS.

9. STUDENT LEVIES: IT IS NOT UNCOMMON FOR ENTIRE CLASSES, OR EVEN SCHOOLS, TO BE CONSCRIPTED ON A REGULAR BASIS TO PERFORM A SPECIFIC TASK. THIS INCLUDES THE HARVEST OF THE COTTON CROPS OF CENTRAL ASIA, HAND GLEANING OF GRAIN FIELDS AFTER THE MECHANIZED HARVEST AND ANY OTHER LABOR INTENSIVE, SHORT-TERM REQUIREMENT.

C. SUBOTNIKII: THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO "VOLUNTEER" TO WORK ON SATURDAY, SUNDAY OR OFFICIAL HOLIDAYS. THESE VOLUNTEERS ARE REQUIRED TO WORK AT THEIR REGULAR JOB IF THE PLANT/ENTERPRISE IS IN DANGER OF FALLING BELOW ITS PRODUCTION QUOTA OR THEY MAY BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE CITY SANITATION SERVICES (STREET CLEANING, BEAUTIFICATION, CLEARING OF SEWER TRAPS, ETC), FARM LABOR, MENIAL/COMMON LABOR FOR ANOTHER PLANT, ETC.

5. RECENT ENIGRES HAVE REPORTED THAT "THOUSANDS" OF BULGARIANS AND VIETNAMESE ARE BEING RECRUITED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED LABOR ON MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS. IT WAS NOT KNOWN ON WHICH SPECIFIC PROJECTS NOR WHERE THE FOREIGN LABORERS WERE TO BE EMPLOYED, BUT LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM HAVE BEEN ENCOUNTERED IN MOSCOW AND OTHER MAJOR CITIES SINCE MID- TO LATE-1981. WHERE CONVERSATION WAS POSSIBLE THESE FOREIGN LABORERS INDICATED THAT THEY HAD A TWO-FOLD MOTIVE FOR ACCEPTING SOVIET EMPLOYMENT: THE HIGH WAGES OFFERED IN COMPARISON TO THEIR HOMELAND AND THE HOPE OF LEARNING CONSTRUCTION SKILLS TO GAIN AN ADVANTAGE IN THEIR

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DOMESTIC LABOR FORCE. COMMENTS: THE SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLANS ALL ASSUME THE AVAILABILITY OF COMPELLED LABOR AND THERE HAS NOT BEEN A SIGNIFICANT CONSTRUCTION PROJECT IN THE USSR THAT DID NOT DEPEND ON CONSCRIPTS FOR THE UNSKILLED LABOR FORCE. IN VIEW OF THE HIGH VISIBILITY OF THE SIBERIAN GAS PIPELINE IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANY POLITICAL PRISONERS OR DISSIDENTS WOULD BE EMPLOYED THERE. THEY WOULD BE TOO LIKELY TO FIND SOME WAY TO SABOTAGE THE PROJECT OR TO ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF THE WESTERN PRESS. WHAT IS LIKELY IS THAT THE CONSCRIPTS ARE BEING USED ON OTHER PROJECTS WHICH WOULD NORMALLY BE SERVED BY CONSTRUCTION BATTALIONS THUS FREEING THE CONSTRUCTION BATTALIONS FOR THE PIPELINE. THERE HAS BEEN NO INFORMATION FROM EITHER THE RECENT EMIGRES NOR IN THE UNDERGROUND DISSIDENT NETWORK TO SUPPORT ALLEGATIONS OF MASSIVE USE OF FORCED LABOR ON THE PIPELINE.)

6. THE CONTINUED NEED FOR AND USE OF CONSCRIPTED LABOR IS SUPPORTED BY INTENSIFIED ENFORCEMENT OF CRIMINAL LAW AND

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PROSECUTION FOR MINOR CRIMINAL OFFENCES. MANY PERSONS WHO ARE MINOR DISSIDENTS ARE CHARGED WITH OFFENSES RESULTING FROM PURCHASES ON THE BLACK MARKET OR LIVING IN AN UNAUTHORIZED RESIDENCE AND THEN PAROLED TO LABOR GROUPS. OTHER SOURCES OF CONSCRIPTS ARE THE YOUNG WHO EMULATE WESTERN TEENAGERS WITH ROCK MUSIC AND JEANS. ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT WHICH INDICATES THE INTENSE SHORTAGE OF LABOR IS THAT INDIVIDUALS WITH RARE SKILLS ARE ALSO PROSECUTED FOR MINOR INFRACTIONS AND ARE THEN PAROLED TO THEIR REGULAR JOB. THIS PROVIDES THE FOREMAN A TIGHTER CONTROL OVER THE WORKER AS PAROLEES ARE NOT AFFORDED THE SAME DEGREE OF PROTECTION BY PROFSOYUZ AS REGULAR WORKERS.

7. THESE ACTIONS HAVE HAD A DEPRESSING EFFECT ON THE MORALE OF THE LABOR FORCE AS A WHOLE. PRODUCTIVITY HAS DECLINED AND ABSENTEEISM IS HIGH. AN ANECDOTE ILLUSTRATING THE SUCCESS OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY SAYS THAT TWO NEW CLASSES OF WORKERS HAVE BEEN CREATED: THE DRINKING JEW AND THE SHIRKING LATVIAN. THEIR DRINKING PROBLEM IS ESPECIALLY INTENSE, AND OVER THE LAST THREE TO FIVE YEARS THERE HAS GROWN A TENDENCY FOR WORKERS WHO CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED PRODUCTIVITY TO BE HARASSED BY THEIR COWORKERS FOR MAKING THE AVERAGE LOOK BAD. A REALLY SKILLED AND PRODUCTIVE WORKER CAN FLOUT MOST WORKER REGULATIONS. IF THE FOREMAN KNOWS THAT HIS WORKER, WHEN HE IS AT THE JOB, WILL BE FLAWLESS THE FOREMAN WILL COVER DAYS OFF OR SINGLES. THE WORKER WITH "GOLDEN HANDS" CAN MEET HIS QUOTA AND THAT OF ONE OR TWO OTHER WORKERS IN HALF THE STANDARD WORK TIME IF THE FOREMAN BELIEVES THAT HE CAN COUNT ON THAT WORKER TO PERFORM UNDER REAL PRESSURE HE WILL NOT HARASS HIM FOR TRIVIA.

8. ONE OTHER TREND EMERGING IN THE USSR IS THAT THE NUMBER OF TECHNICIANS AND SKILLED WORKERS INVOLVED IN ANTI-REGIME OR DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IS INCREASING. FROM 1960 TO 1964 LESS THAN 20 PERCENT OF THOSE ARRESTED ON MINOR CHARGES AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY WERE WORKERS, WITH THE BULK OF THEM BEING ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS. SINCE 1966 THE PERCENTAGE HAS STEADILY INCREASED TO THE POINT THAT NOW MORE THAN 40 PERCENT OF THOSE ARRESTED ARE TECHNICIANS OR WORKERS WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA DECLINING PROPORTIONATELY.

ACDI (7 OCTOBER 1982)

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